

sixty were classed as being engaged primarily in agriculture for household consumption and export. This is a figure for the total population, including men who reside in the towns. 162
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As Walsh points out in a paper entitled "A Tongan Urban Peasantry?",

Town dwellers are inescapably bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food (1969: 93). [465]

The figures on external trade (quoted earlier) further indicate the role of agriculture in the Tongan economy: throughout the 1960s, bananas and coconut products made up over 90% of the value of Tonga's exports. Furthermore, there are no grounds for anticipating the development of non-agricultural exports on any significant scale. In the late 1960s, much hope was based on the possibility that explorations for oil would prove fruitful. This has not yet materialized, however. And in trying to develop non-agricultural industries, Tonga is in the difficult position of having to compete with Fiji and Western Samoa, both of which enjoy relatively large home markets and are also more advantageously placed to export their goods. 439
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In view of Tonga's dependence on agriculture both for subsistence and export, the rising population figures are cause for concern about increasing pressure on land as an agricultural resource. A figure for 1963 gives the extent 311
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because of the international oil crisis. These cancellations resulted in a large loss of expected revenues.

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Not only must the industrial sector of the economy be expanded and diversified beyond tourist development, but public health problems in Tonga and other islands must be dealt with. For example, in the past Fiji and Tonga have experienced outbreaks of mosquito-carried Dengue fever. The fever not only incapacitates and demoralizes the native population, it frightens away tourists as well.

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Tongans must develop a balanced design of tourist development, overseas work schemes, combined with the development and improvement of local living conditions, before the economy can be stabilized. The government is currently working on its Third Development Plan for 1975-1980, and new industries, such as local fish-canning and meat-processing plants, have been suggested.¹⁷ Planned overseas aid from New Zealand in the amount of \$NZ5,000,000 over the next three years will be used to encourage and develop rural programs throughout the Kingdom.¹⁸ Such overseas support of the non-tourist sectors of the economy, combined with assistance from the United Nations Development Program for the tourist sector, could provide Tongans with balanced development.

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The future of Tongans lies in greater cooperation with one another. In February of 1975, Tonga joined the European Economic Community as an associate member to obtain eventual stabilization of prices of Tongan items exported to Europe and possible financial aid from Europe. In 1974, Tonga and Fiji joined in a tourist promotion scheme, and more such Fijian-Tongan cooperative efforts are being planned. Late in 1976 the Pacific Islands Tourism Development Council Conference was held in Tonga. The theme of the conference revolved around cooperation in tourism efforts, and representatives were in attendance from American Samoa, Australia, the Cook Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Japan, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, North America, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, and Western Samoa. Clearly, then, ideas about cooperative efforts are increasing. In August of 1976 Tonga was also represented at the Young Nations Conference held in Australia. The theme of that meeting stressed research and development in planning for the people of the South Pacific. For an integrated design for the future, all peoples should utilize as many resources as possible.¹⁹

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Oil may prove another source of foreign exchange for Tonga. In November of 1968, a visiting Australian geologist confirmed natural oil seepage on Tongatapu Island, and exploratory drilling was conducted by a European-based consortium in 1970 and

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1971. Nothing came of the search, and the consortium members finally abandoned their efforts in December of 1971. Early in 1975, Japan's largest oil-mining company expressed interest in further oil exploration, and in March of 1975 New Zealand's chief petroleum geologist visited Tonga and said, "Dig deeper!" The first two test holes were only 5500 feet deep, and the New Zealand geologist said at least 10,000 feet was necessary.²⁰ In connection with future oil exploration plans, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV flew to Saudi Arabia in June of 1974. At that time he also visited the Arabian Gulf oil state of Bahrain, and in March of 1975 His Majesty revisited Bahrain. In 1975, an American-based oil company became actively engaged in Tonga, and work continues.

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CONCLUSIONS

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What is the social and economic impact of tourism on Tonga? The benefits continue to outweigh, by a narrow margin, the negative aspects of tourism. Tourism in Tonga must not, however, be singled out and examined apart from other aspects of Tongan life, for it is closely bound to them. Too much tourism might well destroy what the tourists go to experience: the peace, graciousness, and beauty of a Polynesian island. Signs of deterioration of everyday life in Tonga which can be laid directly or indirectly to increased tourism are already evident. Some Tongan children now beg from the tourists at the major tourist attractions. Prostitution and homosexuality are increasing.²¹ Drunkenness is the major source of the increasing crime in the Kingdom. Tongans have been evicted from their own International Dateline Hotel for drunkenness in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist."²² Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are increasing. In 1973, there were 427 convictions for theft in the Kingdom, an increase of 23 percent over 1972.²³ In 1972, the Tongan Criminal Investigation Division preferred fifteen housebreaking and theft charges against two Tongan males who had apparently entered homes and had "stolen good(s) from New Zealand, American, [and] Australian volunteers in [the] Nuku'alofa area."²⁴ It is not at all unusual for windows on Tongan homes to be heavily barred, and for numerous dogs to be kept in the yards for warning and protection against thieves. Crimes of violence are also increasing, and non-Tongans are frequently attacked by Tongans. Referring to Tonga's growing crime problem, the Tongan Minister of Police said, "In view of population pressures and economic side effects, it is reasonable to predict a future of potential increase of crime."²⁵ The Tongan

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